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THE

CHAPTER ON RECONSTRUCTION

—FROM THE—

"LIFE OF THADDEUS STEVENS"

NOW IN PREPARATION

By Joseph Barr Morrison.

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CHAPTER ON RECONSTRUCTION

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"LIFE OF THADDEUS STEVENS"

NOW IN PREPARATION

By Joseph Barr Morrison.

MARYVILLE, MO., March, 1903.

So much has been written upon the Southern side of Reconstruction, and so little upon the Northern side, that the people are misled in the formation of their opinions,—whether intended or not, on the part of the writers,—as to the wisdom, or practicability of the "Reconstruction Measures." Many of those who write and speak upon the subject, overlook much that is essential, and inject much into it that is foreign to a fair and impartial investigation of it. It is because of this, that I am constrained to make this chapter so lengthy. Persons who have come upon the stage of life since these measures were put into operation, will be required to exercise judgment, and to institute careful inquiry, as to the status of affairs at the time of the origination of the measures. There were many circumstances in existence at that time, which exercised much influence, that are forgotten by many who were then in the prime of life, and which are entirely overlooked by many who were not living at that critical period; and yet many of such assume to instruct the people, they think, in all the many intricacies and phases of the question.

Nothing can be more certain, than the fact that some such measures as those of reconstruction were necessary for the restoration of peace and harmony in the South, as well as, throughout the entire country; and it was the sincere desire of Congress to devise such measures as would bring about such a happy condition; and not to taunt and torture the South, as has been unwisely charged by some inconsiderate persons.

It is my purpose to present the subject in a fair and straight-forward manner, so far as I am able to do so, that those persons desiring to learn something of the matter, without having to read volume upon volume, may at least learn the important points. I believe that a fair and truthful presentation of the subject, kept within reasonable limits, will do much good, by enlightening the people at large, and by removing many errors which are honestly believed by many.

During the last few years, a great deal has been said and written upon this subject, much of which seems to be somewhat unfair. In considering this great question, we should all, Northerners and Southerners alike, study it in a calm, deliberate and impartial manner. There is a vast deal to be considered, in investigating it comprehensively. Personal feeling, or personal likes and dislikes should not enter into the investigation at all; but without effort to prevent it, on the part of the investigators, such things are likely to creep in. Let all, therefore, watch.

Congress and its leaders have been charged with having been controlled

by hatred, revenge, spite, persecution, and even savagery. It should be borne in mind that one of the most important purposes of the reconstruction measures was, making the country safe against a repetition of war, like that lately closed; and the leaders at the time, in Congress, would certainly have been derelict in duty, had they neglected to establish safeguards against such a repetition. How to make permanent, the beneficial results of the war, was a very important issue with them.

Several plans of reconstruction were proposed by as many different authors. They were of varying degrees of severity or kindness. Some had a good deal of vinegar and gall in them; others were about all milk and honey; and some had a portion of the parable of the prodigal son incorporated into their structure, with the essential ingredient of the parable left out. All these plans were finally abandoned except that of Mr. Stevens, which, with some holes punched into it which made it somewhat leaky, was finally adopted. This plan was constructed piece-meal. It was never completed perfectly. It was left weak in places, and these defective places finally caused trouble. The measures of reconstruction as eventually established were not the work of any one man, though, in the main, they were the work of Thaddeus Stevens. Mr. Stevens did not live to see them completed to his entire liking. He well knew that the work was not perfect, but he found it difficult to induce many in Congress to see things as he saw them, or to fore-see results as he fore-saw them. His desires in this matter were of the kindliest sort, and not at all mixed with revenge. The South never has had a better or truer friend. He looked forward to the great future, distant as well as near, in considering and preparing this great work. He had in view the welfare of all races, and for all time. The vast majority of the human race can only see the small present; but not so with him; he looked down through the vista of the long future, and so far as it is possible for human vision to reach, he recognized the purposes of the All-Wise God; and hence his great earnestness in trying to complete a broad, liberal mode of reconstruction. How far he succeeded, future impartial historians will have to determine; for there really seem to be very few men, North or South, who are willing to lay aside bias and partiality when considering this question. It will require a Bancroft or a Macaulay to give posterity a fair, unbiased and full history of the period, and we hope, for the good of all concerned, that such an one may appear in the not distant future.

Mr. Stevens desired not to be hasty, but to take abundant time in which to prepare the people, white as well as black, for the new order of things. His first design was to hold the states lately in rebellion, as conquered territory, governed by provisional or military governors, appointed for the separate states, by the President, and supported by whatever military force the exigencies of the case might require, until education, and all other civilizing and Christianizing agencies could be used, necessary for the preparation of all classes for self government. Of course there were many whites and some blacks, who were already well acquainted with the manner of conducting political and municipal matters, but there was a very large class of both whites and blacks who were far from being thus qualified, and who absolutely needed educating up to that degree of perfection, or of readiness. We may in all candor, ask, where was the need of being in a hurry in this matter? With a fair and just President, having a fair and just class of Army officers and also of soldiers under him and who had a large number of experienced Governors and other executive officers—and just and honest, as well—there surely could have been no danger of doing either the whites or the blacks any injustice, by requiring them to wait for proper training and disciplining. This doubtless, would have been done could Mr. Stevens have had his own way. But there were so many milk-and-water philanthropists in the North, and so many eager politicians in the South,—for they were not nearly all killed off by the war—led by a President whose spinal marrow melted very sudden-

ly, like a tallow candle in a hot August night, and who was extremely anxious, apparently at least, to have the South restored immediately, and the governments of the separate States put into the hands of the very men who had recently made every possible effort to overthrow the United States Government, and to establish one of their own choosing, that "a commotion and a cry" was raised in both the North and the South for immediate restoration to the Union,—even before Congress could legally re-assemble,—a cry so general and so vociferous that it was difficult for even the most sturdy and unyielding leaders of men to withstand. During the eight months of the interim between the two Congresses, so much mischief had been done by the Executive, by following the wrong line,—having made the mistake of regarding this work as belonging to the Executive instead of to Congress,—that by the time Congress met in December, 1865, its work was vastly greater, and more difficult, than it would have been at the time of the surrender at Appomattox, because the South was led to believe that all was settled; and many in the North believed the same thing; and Congress had to undo all this, before it could begin active work, and render any assistance.

Had Mr. Lincoln continued to live, he in all probability would have called Congress together in extra session for the purpose of attending to its own work; but Mr. Johnson did not consider it necessary at all. Mr. Lincoln would soon have seen his error; but Mr. Johnson could not, or would not, see any error. It is thought by many, North and South, that he was trying to court favor with the South, looking toward a second term. He took upon himself a tremendous responsibility and an unjustifiable one. It is a great pity that he took a course that brought such dissatisfaction to the people both North and South. He elated the whites of the South with false hopes, and disturbed those of the North, as well. The love of authority is, and has always been, a ruling passion with the whites of the South, and they soon became restless and dissatisfied after having authority taken from them at Appomattox; and the defection of Mr. Johnson soon set them to wishing for power and influence in the Union. They soon began to yearn for it, and the yearning rapidly increased. It was a sad dissapointment to them when Congress passed Mr. Stevens' famous reconstruction resolution, in December, 1865, immediately after Congress opened. The adoption of this resolution caused Johnson's "restoration," or "My Policy," to fall to the ground lifeless.

At the close of the war the Southerners seemed to accept the situation in good faith, and it is the testimony of recent writers of both South and North that this is an undeniable fact. Many admitted to the writer of this article, soon after the surrender of Lee, that they believed that it was better for both sections of the country that matters had terminated as they did. Not until President Johnson began to waver did they intimate that they were not entirely satisfied with the results. But from the moment that he melted, they began to grow bold and demanding. They then began to talk about their CONSTITUTIONAL rights. By the following February, (1866), they were about as bold and as exacting as they were during and prior to the war. Their lamb-like submission was spoiled by Mr. Johnson's course, and they never regained it. They were not willing after that to give up the case and become submissive again. Nor did they ever again do so willingly. "A man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still." This, it is feared, is the state of opinion in the South to-day. Those persons who have written recently upon the subject, make it plain that the whites of the South think they were right during the war, and that they have been treated badly since the war; that the acts of reconstruction were acts of great injustice. They ought not to forget, but they do, the conditions at the time; i. e. the situation of affairs at the time of the close of the war. They were quite different from the conditions of the present time. We should remember that reconstruction was not the work of a day; nor for a day, but that it was intended for all time, and that its results and influences will reach far into Eternity. It was the re-

sult of mature deliberation and ardent work, on the part of a few strong and sincere men, who had nothing but good in their purposes. It should also be remembered that when the reconstruction measures were instituted, a gigantic war had but recently closed; a war memorable for its dimensions, its purposes, its causes and results; and for the earnest determination with which it was waged by the aggressors. The conditions following such a war were anomalous, grievious and puzzling, or mystifying.

The outbreak of the South was at first regarded simply as a rebellion, and was so treated then on the part of our government; but its dimensions soon grew into such enormous proportions, that it became more than a simple rebellion, and, while it was throughout, a rebellion, it was more, because of assuming such colossal proportions; and, having adopted all the measures of warfare used in a war between nations, it was regarded and treated as a war between nations, by our own government and by foreign powers. It was a rebellion, a war of belligerants, a war as of nations, and a huge one, too. This war was very strenuously waged for four long years of actual and terrific warfare, by a brave and determined people, with the obstinate intent of severing themselves permanently from the Union and establishing a government of their own, in which Negro slavery should be an integral part,—in fact the ESSENTIAL part. The sentiment antagonistic to slavery had grown to such prodigious dimensions in the North, and the determination of the people of the Union was so strong against the propagation or extension of the institution, that the LEADERS in the South deliberately concluded that their only course in order to perpetuate their cherished institution, was to sever their connection with the Union and establish a government, or a nation of their own. Their purpose was only abandoned when they were over-powered at Appomattox. They gave it up simply because they were obliged to do so, and not, even in the least degree, because they had any desire to do so This is the fixed opinion of the North, and the oft repeated opinion of the South. There can be no doubt about this. The Southern people to-day teach their children that they were not conquered, but that they were only overpowered. It is to be greatly regretted that they declare, in speeches and in conversation—and rather boldly, too—sentiments at variance with the spirit of their re-entering the Union. Some of the leaders of the North, who were very anxious to have matters so adjusted that similar trouble could never again occur, were greatly censured by many people for doubting the sincerity of the Southern leaders, and for being so particular, as they regarded it, about having every rail or picket of the fence put into exact—yes, scrupulously exact—position. In other words, they regarded these leaders as being captious, over-nice, pettish, and unnecessarily suspicious. In looking over the field now, may we not ask in sincerity, were they so? Is their not a good deal of truth in what Senator Tillman and others have said in their heated speeches in the Senate and elsewhere? Why do Southern orators keep saying things if they do not mean them? Why iterate and re-iterate through the years, if the things are not true. Let us try to be fair in our discussions and dissertation.

Inasmuch as the name of Thaddeus Stevens is often used in the discussion of the Problem of Reconstruction, I shall, in this article, use it frequently, as it seems to be about impossible to discuss the question to much extent without using it. Whether we be biased in favor of, or against the man, if indeed we be biased at all, we must, yes, absolutely must make our investigations fairly and honestly, or posterity will justly cast them aside as unreliable, and as unworthy of serious consideration. Surely, no Northern man, who is loyal to the principles for which the government contended during the Civil War, and who will read Mr. Stevens' record concerning this subject, can fail to revere the man and to enjoy reading his speeches, and the faithful accounts given by others, of his sayings and doings. As for the Southern people, we do not expect to find them revering, or even admiring him; at least for several generations to come; and yet

he was a friend of the South as well as of the North, of the enduring kind. "A friend in need is a friend indeed," and the true interests of the South needed just such a friend at the close of the war. The entire country needed just such a friend at that time. Where is the use in adjusting a disarrangment of any sort, unless it be adjusted in a permanent and beneficial manner? Thaddeus Stevens cared not for popular applause. All that he cared for was to do justly by his fellow-men, be they white or black, Caucasian, Malay, Mongolian or African. He was anxious to uplift the downtrodden and to set their foot-steps toward the light of civilization and usefulness. His labors in this regard were all wholly of an unselfish character, and, financially at least, he was unrewarded.

The South may well blame herself and no one else, for the severe measures of reconstruction, as they choose to call them; for, but for their own stubbornness and contempt in rejecting them, in their milder forms in 1865, and their impositions upon, and cruel treatment of the colored race, in their legislative measures, Congress would hardly have turned the vise so tightly. The first measure offered was comparatively mild, and there was no negro suffrage included in it, except conditionally; but the leniency of Mr. Johnson toward them had spoiled them, and they presumed themselves to be in a condition then to be a little particular, and possibly a little impudent. They had "too much Johnson," and they hurt their own interests: i. e. their own interests as they themselves regarded them;—but really, their remote and permanent interests were promoted by their rejection of the measures, and by the afterward compulsory measures required by Congress, as time, we sincerely believe, will make abundantly manifest; but not, perhaps for some years. It is not always best to be too choice, or too touchy, for the parties with whom we are dealing, may be just as choice, or touchy, as ourselves. Congress was not disposed to be ugly, or exacting toward the South; and there is reason to believe that it would have been too lenient for the good of the whole country, if the action of the States had not opened its eyes and caused it to reflect. Congressmen said to each other and to themselves: "Here! we had better go a little more carefully and watch where we step. The South is becoming quite demanding, and quite choice of remedies."

When the war came to an end, the subject of reconstruction was not new to Mr. Stevens, for he had considered it for a number of years, and was well acquainted with its ins and outs, its pros and cons, and all its possibilities and probabilities. He had his mind fully made up, when the time came to act, as to what could be and what could not be, and as to what should be and what should not be done.

At the beginning of the war, Mr. Stevens opposed and refused to vote for the Crittenden resolutions; stating that they conveyed a false impression to the people, as to the origin, purpose and intent of the war, and he declared that the States in rebellion had forfeited their rights by their own action, and therefore had no rights remaining under the Constitution; and that when the war should be brought to an end they would stand in relation to the United States, as conquered Provinces. The Crittenden resolutions soon passed out of sight, like a flock of birds of passage. They were wrong in theory and hence could not maintain their ground. The States in rebellion against the Constitution could not, of course, plead the protection of the Constitution, though some visionaries of the North claimed that they could do so.

Mr. Stevens persistently and consistently maintained that it was the right and duty of Congress to determine what should be done with the Rebel States, and also the manner of doing it. Mr. Lincoln made the same mistake that Andrew Johnson made afterwards, of contending that it belonged to the Executive so to determine. This broad question of reconstruction involved the law of nations, the laws of war, the Status of Territories under the Constituton, the rights of the Executive and of Congress, and the claims of the conquered under the laws of humanity and

of God. It is far reaching, both as to space and time. Its work will not be completed until all the existing and prospective differences, because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude or mastery, shall have been adjusted permanently. Reconstruction contemplated the benefits and the uplifting influences of education, civilization, industry and Christianity upon all the people concerned whether White, Black, Indian, Mongolian or Caucasian. "And He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation" Mr. Stevens fully believed this, and acted accordingly.

Many persons during the last few years, in considering the subject of reconstruction, speak of it from the present day standpoint. They forget the circumstances of the time when it was made necessary. They overlook the then existing great and numerous obstacles that were in the way of the easy adjustment of matters. It seems that many look upon it in the same light in which they regard the war of races. They make them practically one and the same thing. They seem to entirely overlook the principal feature of reconstruction, namely, the restoring of the Seceded States to their places in the Union, in a LEGAL AND SUBSTANTIAL manner: and in a manner that will bring the fruits of peace and prosperity. At the close of the war, these States were out of the Union, both DE JURE and DE FACTO, doubtless, and they had to be re-admitted by the Sovereign Power of the Nation—Congress—in accordance with the law of nations.

One would think now, in reading over the proceedings of Congress of that date, that but few knew anything about the law of nations. The conflicting views of the Congressmen of the time, seem very singular, or strange to us, thirty-five years later. Even Mr. Lincoln admitted to Mr. Stevens, that he did not know much about the law of nations, as he was not required to use it much in his practice in Illinois.

As a matter of course, reconstruction was and is responsible, in a measure, for the progress and the harmonizing of the races; but it could not be expected to accomplish its work in one year, or one decade, one score of years, or even in one century. It laid the foundation for progress, prosperity, education, civilization, Christianization and peace, but it will be a long time yet, before its work shall be completed. Great and beneficial changes in any community, and especially in a community of radically different races, require for their working-out, quite a long time. It doubtless is true, that the work of reconstruction has been done as expeditiously and as perfectly, as could have been hoped for under most other plans or schemes. That misunderstandings and differences should have arisen, and in some instances, outbreaks, is not strange, when we consider the condition of the South after such a devastating war, and after the setting free of four millions of slaves, who were still to remain in the country, and especially as those in the mastery knew nothing about work. Reconstruction has already done a great work, is still doing, and will in the future continue to do a great work. The establishing of such valuable schools as that at Hampton, and that at Tuskegee, which doubtless will do great work, and rapidly, is a part of the work of reconstruction. Reconstuction contemplated just such work and such results. It, however, never was expected to bring about social equality. That, if not an impossibility, is, at least, an enigma for the long future to dispose of. There does not exist social equality among the white races of the world, and such a condition never has existed. Whether or not such a condition ever will exist, is for the future to determine. Many say that it never can exist, but let us bear in mind, that never is a long time. Some wonderful changes have occured in the world since Adam's day. Others may occur before the last day.

If the amendments to the Constitution which Mr. Stevens proposed, had been adopted as he offered them, there could have been no trouble about suffrage and representation; for he proposed that representation

should depend upon the franchise as based upon correct United States census; and if certain classes should be permitted to exercise the right of franchise, then the Southern States should be entitled to a certain number of Representatives in Congress; but if not so permitted, then the number should be reduced accordingly. The amendments would have been self-acting, but some superior (or inferior) wisdom trimmed the tree so unwisely as to lop off one of the most important branches, and this very important and very material matter was left to be put into operation by special enactments, and the special enactments have failed to take form. This provision is persistently violated in late years. The blacks are not permitted to vote, and yet they are all counted just as the whites are counted. It is like putting a champion racer upon the track with hobbles on, for the purpose of breaking the record. Mr. Stevens claimed,—and it seems that it could not have been otherwise—that if the colored men should be allowed to vote, then the number of representatives could be divided, so that a number of them would be loyal Union men, sufficient to prevent any danger to republican principles and republican institutions; and that if they should be denied the exercise of the franchise, then the number of representatives would be reduced so as to be harmless for evil.

The action of the State legislatures at the time of the rejection of the 14th Amendment, in relation to the negroes, alarmed the people of the North and made them apprehensive for the freedom of the colored race, and led eventually to the adoption of Negro Suffrage as a safe-guard to their liberty. Universal suffrage was not required as a part of the plan of reconstruction, until long after the first proposition was contemptuously rejected by the separate seceded States. Mr. Stevens was exceedingly anxious to have some perfectly reliable safe-guard; because he knew that the Southerners were smart enough to devise some plan, and that they were selfish enough to put it into operation,—if not positively prevented by some absolutely effective enactment,—that would subvert the intent of the law and of the law-making power. He was not to be hood-winked or blindfolded. He knew the South thoroughly. He, however, had no desire to inflict any punishment, or even restraint upon them, that was not required to insure the safety, prosperity and peace of the whole country. He was not influenced in the least, by spite, envy or revenge; no not in the least. He was far from being that kind of a man. His desire was to insure the safety of the country, and the rights of individual citizens named in the Declaration of Independence. This desire, surely was commendable He really was one of the South's best friends. He will always be remembered by a grateful people for his unselfish desires and efforts in behalf of the entire country. Some of his efforts in her behalf are worthy a Lycurgus or a Solon, and some of his speeches are gems of legal eloquence and of oratory. This matter of properly adjusting the affairs of the country after the termination of the war, was with him a paramount issue and he threw his whole soul into it. By reading his speeches, any one may see that he was most deeply in earnest. He was most thoroughly convinced that it was a question of the very greatest importance to the nation, whether it be settled carelessly, or carefully and securely; for accordingly as it is settled, he maintained, will be the peace or the disquiet of the country in future years; for what a people will do once, believing themselves to be in the right, they will do again, if opportunity shall offer. This is common experience.

It is a very easy matter for men —self-confident men especially—to stand off to one side and say, "Didn't I tell you so?" "Didn't I know that reconstruction would be a failure?" Reconstruction has not been a failure. It has accomplished all that it, in this or any other shape, could have accomplished under the very discouraging circumstances. It is a matter of a very long time and of very great effort, to bring a homogeneous condition out of such a heterogeneous mixture of circumstances. And but for the fact that reconstruction has made it possible for education, civilization

and Christianity to operate favorably, the South would to-day, be a very hot bed of strife, blood-shed and iniquity. But for the supervision of the reconstruction measures, the war of races would have rendered the South a very bedlain,—a very Hell upon earth. We should be thankful, North and South alike, for what Thaddeus Stevens' reconstruction measures have accomplished under God's direction and guidance. We must look at all the conditions dispassionately, like brave, truthful, sincere and earnest men, and like philosophers as well.

Many of the Southern people complained bitterly because of the presence of United States troops, during the early years of reconstruction; and yet, I doubt if ever one of them was heard to object to the presence of the troops of Jefferson Davis during the continuance of the war. "It depends a good deal on whose ox is gored." That many bad men and conscienceless schemers located in the South as carpet-baggers, at that time, is entirely true; but "reconstruction" is hardly responsible for such a condition of things. It had to deal with just what it found. If the land was high, rolling and beautiful, and the home of song-birds and sweet flowers, so be it; but if it was swampy and filled with reptiles, so be it, also. Its design was to operate beneficially, whether sun-shiny or cloudy. It was designed to bring order out of chaos, peace and quiet out of confusion and turmoil, and a happy citizenship for each individual out of uncertainty and disturbance, and to make happy, peaceful and prosperous communities out of conflicting and heterogeneous conditions; and it is doing so. It has not been a failure, as some have carelessly asserted. It has accomplished great things already, and it is still working out great problems. It was established not for a day, but for all time. It must be examined with the eye of reason and fairness, and not with the eye of prejudice and envy. It must be judged in fairness, and by sound judgement and philosophy. In short, it must be weighed in a true balance by men of honesty and of just judgment. If it had not been crippled at the very start by some of its lukewarm friends or half-way enemies, there would in all probability have been no room for fault-finding people to complain of its work, But its hands were tied, in a measure, and it was thus hindered, to quite a considerable degree. Its hands were tied by leaving to legislation what ought to have been embodied in the Constitutional Amendments.

If the legislatures of the Seceded States had acted with more wisdom and less feeling of independence and defiance late in 1865 and early in 1866, in legislating concerning the negroes, they might have fared better in the matter of reconstruction; that is to say, they might have been taken back into the Union upon much more lenient terms. But their haste and pride waked up the fear and vigilance of the North and of Congress. And if they had not rejected the early measures of reconstruction in 1866-67 they would likely, more nearly have carried their point. But they tread upon their own toes, and upon those of Congress and the North, and in doing so caused Congress to be cautions and deliberate.

It does seem that President Hayes assumed a great responsibility when he withdrew the troops from the South; for by doing so he opened the flood-gates to the Ku Klux Klans, blood hounds, rapine, murder and general lawlessnesss, under the notion that he was exercising mercy and justice toward an abused white race; and the natural result of the mistaken policy was a Solid South, politically, which continued Solid for many years in opposition to everything except the will of those, who lately tried desperately by every means of warfare, to destroy the United States Government. He did this, too, by indirectly insulting those faithful ones who labored long and faithfully to establish the Union upon a firm and fair foundation, and to protect the poor and helpless as well as those in good circumstances, by saying, in act or deed: "You men who established reconstruction, were all wrong, and I am right, and, therefore, I am going to tear down what you have, by hard and patriotic labor, built up, and take off all restraints from the proud Southern white people." What

would have been thought of an upstart who might have overthrown, or who might have tired to overthrow, the laws of Moses, which were established by the wisdom of the greatest lawgiver of earth? What would be thought of the Warden of the Penitentiary, who would say to the prisoners, or those who have offended against the laws: "I am going to exercise mercy and justice toward you abused men, who are being imposed upon by being kept in here, by opening the prison doors and saying to you, go and be free?"

If this class of persons had been present when the Savior drove the money changers, and dealers in merchandise, or traders, out of the Temple, they would doubtless have pleaded with the Savior to be merciful upon the poor fellows, and likely would have reproved Him for his severity or cruelty. This class of men are hardly suitable for wise rulers, or for judges of Courts of law and justice. That class of persons who are in favor of hanging a murderer to the nearest tree on the day of the commission of the crime, and then turn around and plead for the acquittal of the same criminal on the day of trial, are not likely to help the world much; but they can engender a great deal of trouble and mischief. That class of people has had much to do with the condition of affairs in the South since the war. They are disturbers of the peace, directly or indirectly, wherever they are.

Undoubtedly there were very many things done in the South by individuals,—irresponsible individuals,—for which the South, as a people, should not be held responsible. So, too, there were very many things done in a sinister manner, by "scalawags, carpet-baggers, and negroes" influenced by such, for which the North, or the Government, should not be censured; because such scalawags and carpet-baggers went South of their own accord in most, if not all instances, and they were not authorized by the Government, or by the Northern people, as a people, to do that which they meanly and unwarrantedly did. The intention, doubtless, of the Southern people as a people, was to do right as nearly as they could under the anomalous condition of things. So also, the Northern people and the U. S. Government have good intentions. It is not to be expected in such a singularly unusual condition of affairs, and of such huge proportions too, and extending over such a vast territory, that many wrongs should not have been perpetrated on both sides. Broad minded people, North and South, who can grasp great questions and great conditions, will have no difficulty in seeing the force and truthfulness of these sentiments; and they ought to be willing to be governed in their attitude toward the great matter of reconstruction, by such broad considerations.

Thaddeus Stevens had more to do with devising the work of reconstruction, than any other man. He it was, who guarded its planning with the eye of a sage, and prevented a rapid, disjointed, illegal and unsafe "restoration" of the Seceded States. A careful and impartial perusal of the history of reconstruction will doubtless convince any unbiased mind, that, but for Mr. Stevens, the States lately in rebellion would have been restored to their former relations to the Government and Union, and their Senators and Representatives admitted to Congress, to help to make laws, before there were any adequate safe-guards established to prevent a repetition of the same kind of war as that just closed. It was he who cried halt, and who insisted upon having the problem settled in accordance with the law of nations; and upon having constitutional amendments that would establish the Government upon the broad principles of the Declaration of Independence, which had never been completely done up to that time. He was the lawyer and statesman of the period PAR EXCELLENCE. It seems strange that so many astute lawyers in Congress should have had such confused ideas about the status of the Southern States at the close of the war. In looking over the history of the matter now, in the Congressional Globe and the newspapers of the period, it seems as though Mr. Stevens was the only one who had consistent views through-

out; that he was the only one who could answer intelligently all questions asked, and without any confusion or conflict of opinions, or ideas, and without any inconsistencies. He laid down the law applicable to the condition of affairs at the time, so plainly and forcibly, that it seems now, that it should not be necessary for a man to be a lawyer, in order to understand the situation and the measures of legislation. He was extremely anxious that the entire question should be settled in a legal, workmanlike and permanent manner, for he regarded it as a work for all time.

The opinion is quite prevalent that Providence raised up Abraham Lincoln for the particular and special work that he performed during the last few years of his life; and we are free to say that we share in the belief, and rejoice that such a belief exists so generally. The same opinion has been put forth in regard to General U. S. Grant, and we also share in this belief. So also with George Washington and others. It seems just as evident that Thaddeus Stevens was also so raised up for his particular work. His, very certainly, was a Herculean task in the legislative field. He did a vast amount of difficult labor and he was very solicitous, lest the country should be left in an insecure condition, and lest the possibilities of future trouble might be too apparent, or too threatening.

It is well known that Mr. Lincoln was disposed to be very lenient toward those lately in error, and that his plan of restoration or reconstruction was comparatively easy and simple. Many believe now that his plan was too weak to establish this country upon the firm basis of the Declaration of Independence in such a manner as to preclude danger of other such wars; and hence, not in accordance with the designs of Providence. Very many people are convinced that Mr. Lincoln had reached the limit of his great usefulness, and therefore, Providence took him from the stage of action, and to his reward, lest he might stand in the way of others in doing this great work. He certainly would have stood in the way, if he had insisted upon his opinion or theory that the work belonged to the Executive instead of to Congress, and had refused to call an extra session of Congress for the purpose of attending to such work. It is hardly to be believed that Mr. Lincoln would have been thus obstinate, or unreasonable. He was too wise for that.

President Johnson and his friends claimed that he, in his plan of restoration, was but carrying into effect the plan of Mr. Lincoln; and that if Mr. Lincoln had lived he would have been even more lenient than he. This is possible, but it may be very much doubted. It is quite probable, however, that he would have been too easy, or too tender hearted toward the South, to have secured a perfectly safe and satisfactory reconstruction for all posterity, or for all time. But, after all, it is most likely that Mr. Lincoln would have called an Extra Session of Congress, and would have left the work to the Sovereign Power of the Nation, where it certainly belonged.

The manner of Mr. Lincoln's removal from the arena of life, served to prepare the people for a more rigid and secure mode of adjustment of the difficult problem. The extremely easy mode—and dangerous, as well—of "restoration," proposed by Mr. Johnson, and, in fact, put into force by him, so far as it was possible for him to enforce, or establish it, also served to prepare the people for the more exacting and safe plan of "reconstruction," of Thaddeus Stevens. But for the firm and uncompromising position taken by Mr. Stevens in favor of a perfectly safe and permanent settlement of the troubles, matters would have been so loosely arranged, that future generations would have been annoyed by threatened outbreaks from time to time. Had the Johnson policy been adopted, nothing would have been permanently settled; for the very people who had been trying for four long years, by terrible warfare to destroy the Government, and to establish another in its stead, with slavery for the corner-stone, would have been called upon to help to arrange matters, and it is quite reasonable to fear that they would have been very lenient toward themselves. This is but human.

Mr. Stevens grasped the situation with a firm grip; believing, as he did, that there was then an opportunity offered by an All-wise God for the American people to establish the American Government upon the broad, grand principles of the Declaration of Independence; such an opportunity as had never been presented before; and that, if we then should neglect to make use of such opportunity, we should deserve the condemnation and execration of all future generations. He was determined—was immovably set in his determination—to see the questions of the hour settled securely, safely and wisely, and in accordance with the law of nations.

When the war closed, Congress was not in session, having adjourned on the 4th of March. Mr. Johnson, therefore, had free course until the following December. He had made considerable headway with his policy of restoration, by the time that Congress met. In fact, he had made considerable trouble. On the 6th day of September, in Lancaster, Penn., his home, Mr. Stevens delivered a speech to his constituents, and indeed, to the whole world, in which he called a halt, and warned the people against the dangers of "restoration." He insisted that "reconstruction" was the word. He stated that Congress was the only power that had any right to attempt the settlement of the great questions that had grown out of the war. The President had no power, except to govern the conquered territory by military authority, until Congress could act. President Johnson should have called Congress together in extra session, at a time of such momentous interests.

When the 39th Congress convened in regular session in December, Mr. Stevens moved the appointment of a Special Committee on reconstruction. Such committee was appointed and it took charge of the great problem. President Johnson's action in the premises was declared to be, and was treated as null and void; was regarded as the work of a usurper, which it surely was. Mr. Johnson, like Mr. Lincoln, made the mistake of regarding it as the work of the Executive, rather than that of Congress. Mr. Stevens was resolved to have the whole matter settled in the interest of all mankind for all future ages, regardless of the wishes and feelings of the present conquerors and conquered. He was not laboring so much for conqueror and vanquished, as for all posterity for all time. He was looking at the eternal principles of right and justice,—though they should be tempered with mercy so far as safety would permit. He wanted no weak points left in the fortifications, where an enemy might, in the future, assail, or break through and demolish, or even deface the stately edifice of liberty.

The giving way of Mr. Johnson's knees and back-bone, served to make Mr. Stevens and those who thought and acted with him, more vigilant, more jealous of and more anxious about, the security and permanency of the settlement of the great questions that concerned not only ourselves, but all posterity; and let us hope that he accomplished the settlement pretty effectually and securely. Mr. Stevens regarded the work as pretty well done, at the time of his death, but not so complete and perfect as he desired. He, however, regarded it as being efficacious enough to cause him to rejoice in the fruition of his hopes. He lived to see slavery abolished forever; the slaves made citizens; the country made entirely, and for all time, the soil or land of the sons of liberty; the black spot removed from the escutcheon of America; and our grand Government, the best that God has ever established on earth, firmly and securely established upon the broad and noble principles of the Declaration of Independence, as the founders of the government so devoutly desired at first, but which they could not effectually consummate because of the great stumbling block, slavery. The old compromise between freedom and slavery was at last removed; and the joy of Mr. Stevens was, that he lived to see it, and that he took such an active and important part in bringing it about. He knew from early in life, that there was a work for him to perform, such as he accomplished; and this belief had a strong influence over him during all his subsequent days, and a consoling influence upon him when in the article of death. He seemed to feel and act throughout a long life, as though he knew that a

day of triumph would come upon him before he should lay himself down "in cold obstruction and in death."

One great source of confusion and indecision among the Senators and Representatives, yes, and among the Cabinet officers, and the great lawyers of the land, as well, was, that about all of them thought that it was a most wonderfully mixed-up muddle, and a bewilderingly incongruous tangle of political and legal technicalities and absurdities, that no one of them could straighten out; and, that no other person could do so. Most of them felt that there was no Joshua to lead the hosts over the Jordan and set things to rights. A Joshua soon appeared, however, and matters were adjusted handsomely, though not in entire perfection, because of a number of great obstacles in the way. Mr. Stevens' plan for setting things to rights, did not favor haste, but on the contrary, it favored delay, caution and mature deliberation. It assumed that the work of reconstruction belonged to the Sovereign Power of the Nation, namely, Congress. A statement that hardly any will controvert to-day, though at the time, a number disputed it. If Congress had been in session at the time of Lee's surrender, there probably would have been no trouble over the matter. But in the interim between the two Congresses, the 38th and 39th, the executive department of the government assumed to be the executive, judicial and legislative departments combined, and had the work well under way, as the Executive thought, by the time the 39th Congress met in December; and the Executive claimed that all that Congress would have to do, would be to judge of the election, qualifications, etc., of the Senators and Representatives, from the Seceded, but restored states. This, surely was usurpation. It was one man power with a vengeance. Mr. Stevens, because of this usurpation, called Mr. Johnson "The man at the other end of the Avenue,"—a cognomen that clung to him throughout his term of office. The work of Mr. Johnson along the line of "restoration," was promptly set aside by Congress and a quite different line of work commenced under another name, that of 'reconstruction." The position taken by Congress, was, that the seceded states were in the position of conquered territory and must be governed by military power, until the Sovereign Power of the nation could provide governments for, and admission of, the individual or separate states. We doubt if there are any astute lawyers to-day, who will honestly controvert the position which Mr. Stevens held concerning the principles of law bearing upon the situation; or upon the question of reconstruction. Mr. Stevens knew the law, even to the jots and tittles. His mature opinion was seldom, if ever, successfully controverted. He was a lawyer indeed, and not simply in name, and the country was fortunate indeed in having such a lawyer and statesman in Congress from 1861 to 1868, for the intricate points that arose during those years required such an one.

I know of no better way to learn the object and the nature of reconstruction, than to read the speeches of Mr. Stevens', delivered in Congress during the period 1860-68.

We here give extracts from his speech on the subject, delivered in Lancaster, Penn., Sept. 6th, 1865; and it will well repay anyone to peruse it carefully, for Mr. Stevens was a master in the field of legal questions and of Statesmenship, as General Grant was, in the field of military matters, and as Abraham Lincoln was, in the Executive field. General Grant was made of the material of which great generals are made; Abraham Lincoln of that of which great presidents are made; and Thaddeus Stevens of that of which great statesmen are made; and these materials seem not to exist in the quantity of over-production, in the world.

FROM THE N. Y. DAILY TRIBUNE OF SEPT. 11, 1865

The Hon. Thaddeus Stevens delivered a speech in Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 6th, on the policy of Reconstruction, from which we make the following extracts:

THE SOUTH THREW OFF ITS ALLEGIANCE.

"Four years of bloody and expensive war, waged against the United States by eleven states, under a government called the "Confederate States of America," to which they acknowledged allegiance, have overthrown all governments within those states which could be acknowledged as legitimate by the Union. The armies of the Confederate States having been conquered and subdued, and their territory possessed by the United States, it becomes necessary to establish Governments therein, which shall be Republican in form and principles, and form a "more perfect Union" with the parent Government. It is desirable that such a course should be pursued as to exclude from those governments every vestige of human bondage, and render the same forever impossible in this nation; and to take care that no principles of self-destruction shall be incorporated therein. In effecting this it is to be hoped that no provision of the Constitution will be infringed, and no principle of the law of nations disregarded. Especially must we take care that in rebuking this unjust and treasonable war, the authorities of the Union shall indulge in no acts of usurpation which may tend to impair the stability and permanency of the nation. Within these limitations, we hold it to be the duty of the government to inflict condign punishment on the Rebel belligerents, and so weaken their hands that they can never again endanger the Union; and so reform their municipal institutions as to make them republican in spirit as well as in name.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE SOUTH.

We especially insist that the property of the chief Rebels should be seized and appropriated to the payment of the National debt, caused by the unjust and wicked war which they instigated.

How can such punishments be inflicted and such forfeitures produced without doing violence to established principles? Two positions have been suggested:

First—To treat those states as never having been out of the Union because the Constitution forbids Secession, and therefore a fact forbidden by law could not exist.

Second—To accept the position in which they placed themselves as severed from the Union; an independent Government de facto, and an alien enemy to be dealt with according to the laws of war.

THE CRIME OF TREASON.

The crime of treason can be committed only where the person is actually or potentially present. Jefferson Davis sitting in Richmond counselling, or advising, or commanding an inroad into Pennsylvania, has committed no overt act in this state, and can be tried, if anywhere, only in the Richmond district. The doctrine of constructive presence and constructive treason will never, I hope, pollute our Statutes or judicial decisions. Select an impartial jury from Virginia, and it is obvious that no conviction could ever be had. Possibly a jury might be packed to convict, but that would not be an "impartial" jury. It would be judicial murder, and would rank in infamy with the trial of Lord Russell; except only that one was the murder of an innocent man, the other of a traitor. The same difficulties would exist in attempting forfeitures, which can only follow conviction in states protected by the Constitution; and then it is said only for the life of the malefactor. Congress can pass no "bill of attainder."

HOW TO BEGIN RECONSTRUCTION.

What right has any one to direct a convention to be held in a Sovereign State of the Union, to amend its Constitution and prescribe the qualifications of voters? The Sovereign power of the nation is lodged in Congress. Yet where is the warrant in the Constitution for such Sovereign power,

much less the Executive, to intermeddle with the domestic institutions of a State, mold its laws, and regulate the elective franchise? It would be rank, dangerous and deplorable usurpation. In reconstruction, therefore, no reform can be effected in the Southern states, if they have never left the Union. But reformation MUST be effected; the foundation of their institutions, both political, municipal and social MUST be broken up and RELAID, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain. That can only be done by treating and holding them as a conquered people. Then all things which we can desire to do, follow with logical and legitimate authority. As conquered territory, Congress would have full power to legislate for them; for the territories are not under the Constitution except so far as the express power to govern them is given to Congress. They would be held in a territorial condition until they are fit to form State Constitutions, republican in fact, not in form only, and ask admission into the Union as new states. If Congress approve of their constitutions, and think they have done works meet for repentance, they would be admitted as new states. If their constitutions are not approved of, they would be sent back, until they have become wise enough so to purge their old laws as to eradicate any despotic and revolutionary principle—until they shall have learned to venerate the Declaration of Independence—I do not touch on the question of negro suffrage. If in the Union, the states have long ago regulated that, and for the Central Government to interfere with it would be mischievous impertinence. If they are to be admitted as new states, they must form their own Constitution, and no enabling act could dictate its terms. Congress could prescribe the qualifications of voters while a territory, or when proceeding to call a convention to form a State Government. That is the extent of the power of Congress over the elective franchise, whether in a territorial or state condition. The President has not even this or any other power to meddle in the subject, except by advice to Congress—and they on territories. Congress, to be sure, has some sort of compulsory power by refusing the states admission until they shall have complied with its wishes over this subject. Whether those who have fought our battles should be allowed to vote, or only those of a paler hue, I leave to be discussed in the future, when Congress can take legitimate cognizance of it.

There are about 6,000,000 of freemen in the South. The number of acres of land is 465,000,000. Of this those who own above 200 acres each, number about 70,000 persons, holding in the aggregate (together with the states) about 394,000,000 acres, leaving for all the others below 200 each, about 71,000,000 of acres. By thus forfeiting the estates of the leading Rebels, the Government would have 394,000,000 acres, besides their town property, and yet nine-tenths of the people would remain untouched. Divide this land into convenient farms. Give, if you please, 40 acres to each adult male freeman. Suppose there are 1,000,000 of them. That would require 40,000,000 of acres, which, deducted from 394,000,000 leaves 354,000,000 of acres for sale. Divide it into suitable farms and sell it to the highest bidders. I think it, including town property, would average at least $10 per acre. That would produce $3,540,000,000.

Let that be applied as follows to-wit:

1. Invest $300,000,000 in six per cent Government bonds, and add the interest semi-annually to the pensions of those who have become entitled by this villanous war.
2. Appropriate $200,000,000 to pay the damage done to loyal men, North and South by the Rebellion.
3. Pay the residue, being $3,040,000,000 toward the payment of the National debt.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Our war debt is estimated at from three to four billions of dollars. In my judgment, when all is funded and the pensions capitalized it will reach more than four billions.

The interest at six per cent only (now much more(-	$240,000,000.
The ordinary expenses of our government are - - -	120,000,000.
For some years, the extraordinary expense of our army and navy will be - - - - - - - - -	110,000,000
Total - - -	$470,000,000.

Four hundred and seventy millions to be raised by taxation—our present heavy taxes will not, in ordinary years, produce but little more than half the sum. Can our people bear double their present taxation?

He who unnecessarily causes it will be accursed from generation to generation. It is fashionable to belittle our public debt, lest the people should become alarmed and political parties should suffer. I have never found it wise to decieve the people. They can always be trusted with the truth. Capitalists will not be effected, for they cannot be deceived. Confide in the people, and you will avoid repudiation. Deceive them, and lead them into false measures, and you may produce it.

We pity the poor Englishman whose national debt and burdesome taxation we have heard deplored from our childhood. The debt of Great Britian is just about as much as ours, four billions—but in effect it is but half as large—it bears but three per cent interest. The current year, the Chancellor of the Exchecquer tells us, the interest was $131,806,990. Ours, when all shall be funded, will be nearly double.

The plan we have proposed would pay at least three-fourths of our debt. The balance could be managed with our present taxation.

WHO HAS KILLED SLAVERY?

While I hear it said everywhere that slavery is dead, I cannot learn who killed it. No thoughtful man has pretended that Lincoln's proclamation, so noble in sentiment, liberated a single slave. It expressly excluded from its operation all those within our lines. No slaves within any part of the Rebel states in our possessions, or in Tennessee, but only those beyond our limits and beyond our power were declared free. So General Smith conquered Canada by a proclamation! The President did not pretend to abrogate the slave laws of any of the states. "Restoration," therefore, will leave the "Union as it was"—a hideous idea. I am aware that a very able and patriotic gentleman, and learned historian, Mr. Bancroft, has attempted to place their freedom on different grounds. He says, what is undoubtedly true, that the proclamation of freedom did not free a slave. But he liberates them on feudal principles. Under the feudal system, when a king conquered his enemy, he parceled out his lands and conquered SUBJECTS among his chief retainers; the lands and surfs were held on condition of fealty and rendering military service when required. If the subordinate chief rebelled, he broke the condition upon which he held them, and the lands and surfs became forfeited to the lord paramount. But it did not free the surfs. They, with the manors, were bestowed on other favorites. But the analogy fails in another important respect. The American slave-holder does not hold, by virtue of any grant from any lord paramount—least of all by a grant from the General Government. Slavery exists by no law of the Union, but simply by local laws, by the laws of the states. Rebellion against the National authority is a breach of no condition of their tenure. It were more analogous to say that rebellion against a state under whose laws they held, might work a forfeiture. But rebellion against neither Government would PER SE have any such affect. On whom would the lord paramount again bestow the slaves? The theory is plausible, but has no solid foundation.

"RESTORATION" THE SEED OF REBELLION.

The President says to the Rebel States, "Before you can participate in the Government you must abolish slavery and reform your election

laws." THAT is the command of a conqueror. THAT is Reconstruction, not Restoration—Reconstruction, too, by assuming the powers of Congress. This theory will lead to melancholy results. Nor can the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery ever be ratified by three-fourths of the States, if THEY are States to be counted. Bogus Conventions of those States may vote for it. But no Convention honestly and fairly elected will ever do it. The frauds will not permanently avail. The cause of Liberty must rest on a firmer basis. Counterfeit governments, like the Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas pretenses, will be disregarded by the sober sense of the people, by future law, and by the Courts. "Restoration" is replanting the Seeds of Rebellion, which within the next quarter of a century will germinate and produce the same bloody strife which has just ended.

THE SOUTH SHOULD BE A REPUBLIC OF TOIL.

If the South is ever to be made a safe Republic, let her lands be cultivated by the toil of the owners, or the free labor of intelligent citizens. This must be done even though it drive her nobility into exile. If they go, all the better. It will be hard to persuade the owner of ten thousand acres of land, who drives a coach and four, that he is not degraded by sitting at the same table, or in the same pew, with the embrowned and hard-handed farmer who has himself cultivated his own thriving homestead of 150 acres. This subdivision of the lands will yield ten bales of cotton to one that is made now, and he who produces it will own it and FEEL HIMSELF A MAN.

It is far easier and more beneficial to exile 70,000 proud, bloated and defiant Rebels, than to expatriate 4,000,000 of laborers, native to the soil and loyal to the Government. This latter scheme was a favorite plan with certain men, with which they had for awhile inoculated our late sainted President. But a single experiment made him discard it and its advisers. Since I have alluded to certain men, I may say a word more of these persistent apologists of the South. For, when the virus of slavery has once entered the veins of the Slaveholder, no subsequent effort seems capable of wholly eradicating it. They are men of considerable power, some merit, of admirable audacity and execrable selfishness. With impetuous alacrity they seize the White House, and hold possession of it, as in the late administration, until shaken off by the overpowering force of public indignation. Their pernicious counsel had well nigh defeated the re-election of Abraham Lincoln; and if it should prevail with the present Administration, pure and patriotic as President Johnson is admitttd to be, it will render him the most unpopular Executive—save one—that ever occupied the Presidential chair. But there is no fear of that. He will soon say, as Mr. Lincoln did: "YOUR TIME Has Come!"

ALL DEPENDS ON CONGRESS.

Is this great conquest to be in vain? That will depend upon the virtue and intelligence of the next Congress. To Congress alone belongs the power of Reconstruction—of giving law to the vanquished. This is expressly decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dorr case, 7th Howard 42. The Court say; "Under this article of the Constitution (the 4th) it rests with Congress to decide what government is the established one in a State, for the United States guarantees to each a republican form of government," etc. But we know how difficult it is for a majority of Congress to overcome preconceived opinions. Besides, before Congress meets, things will be so inaugurated—precipitated—it will be still more difficult to correct. If a majority of Congress can be found wise and firm enough to declare the Confederate States a conquered enemy, Reconstruction will be easy and legitimate; and the friends of freedom will long rule in the Councils of the Nation. If Restoration prevails, the prospect is

gloomy, and "new lords will make new laws." The Union party will be overwhelmed. The Copperhead party has become extinct with Secession. But with Secession it will revive. Under "Restoration" every Rebel State will send Rebels to Congress, and they, with their allies in the North, will control Congress, and will occupy the White House. Then restoration of laws and ancient Constitutions will be sure to follow, our public debt will be repudiated, or the Rebel national debt will be added to ours, and the people be crushed beneath heavy burdens.

REBELS TO PAY THE DEBT.

Let us forget all parties, and build on the broad platfotm of "reconstructing" the Government out of the conquered territory converted into new and free States, and admitted into the Union by the Sovereign power of Congress, with another plank—"The Property of the Rebels Shall Pay Our National Debt, AND INDEMNIFY FREEDMEN AND LOYAL sufferers—and that under no circumstances will we suffer the National Debt to be repudiated, or the interest scaled below the contract rates; nor permit any part of the Rebel debt to be assumed by the nation."

YOUNG MEN MUST DO THE WORK.

Let all who approve of these principles rally with us. Let all others go with the Copperheads and Rebels. Those will be the opposing parties. Young men, this duty devolves on you. Would to God, if only for that, that I were still in the prime of life, that I might aid you to fight through this last, greatest battle of freedom!"

Let me ask in all sincerity, Does not the history of the years since the war, prove that Mr. Stevens was not wrong in his fears and predictions? Was he not pretty well acquainted with the spirit and intentions of the Southern leaders? Surely we must in candor answer in the affirmative; and we can safely base such an answer upon the utterances and actions of the white people of the South. I fear that freedom has again been compelled to submit to a clipping of her wings.

Extract from S. W. McCall's article in Atlantic Monthly June 1901—"Washington During Reconstruction."

"Mr. Thaddeus Stevens had logically taken the position, from the very outbreak of hostilities, that a condition of war existed, within the meaning of the term in the law of nations; that the Southern States had forfeited all their rights under the Constitution; and that after they had been conquered they should be dealt with practically as conquered territory, without any constitutional rights. This was regarded as an extreme doctrine; but in spite of the fact that he found, when he first advocated it, only the slighest support, he adhered to it with remarkable consistency, and in the end it was the theory which found practical acceptance The constitutional theory involved in this plan was not less simple than that contained in the Crittenden Resolutions, although at the opposite extreme. This was really the important point upon which the so-called radicalism of Stevens was influential. It consisted in adopting the very matter-of-fact policy of doing what the future continuance of the national life, which had been saved by so many sacrifices, demanded, and treating reconstruction as a practical rather than a theoretical question. It obviously did not involve negro suffrage. That might or might not be one of the "terms" which should be imposed. Stevens did not originate the idea of imposing negro suffrage as a necessary part of reconstruction, and the opinion entertained in some quarters that he was especially responsible for the introduction of the idea is widely at variance with the facts. His first plan was embodied in an amendment to the Constitution, basing representation upon the number of voters in the different States, and thus making it for

the political interest of the states to establish a broad suffrage in order to increase their representation in Congress: and so late as the 30th of April 1866, he reported to the House the Fourtheenth Amendment in the form in which it now stands in the Constitution, and at the same time a bill declaring that when that amendment should have been incorporated in the Constitution, and any state "lately in insurrection" should have ratified it and adopted a constitution and laws in accordance with its terms, it should be admitted to representation in Congress. That policy lacked neither simplicity nor moderation. In the December preceding, Sumner had presented to the Senate a resolution demanding "the complete enfranchisement of all citizens, so that there shall be no denial of rights on account of race or color." Lincoln had suggested the suffrage for the freedmen, but on the condition that it should be conferred gradually and as they should become fitted for it,—a condition full of wise policy for the country at large, and of humanity for the negro. But whoever may have been its advocates, negro suffrage resulted from the course of events rather than from the efforts of any individuals.

Lincoln, just before his death, had prepared a new plan of reconstruction, and there can be little doubt that he would soon have promulgated it if his life had been spared. On his accession to the presidency Johnson accepted Lincoln's cabinet in its entirety, and he also finally accepted the latter's plan of reconstruction, although his first utterances had alarmed even the radicals by the hostility of his tone toward the South. This plan, which may fairly be called Lincoln's second plan, was more severe than that embodied in the Louisiana proclamation, but it repeated the fatal error of treating reconstruction as a function of the Executive. If Lincoln had lived, his great political influence might have been sufficient to secure the adoption of this programme by Congress; but whether Congress had accepted it or not, he would doubtless have had sufficient sagacity not to become involved in the bitter controversy to which Johnson became a party. After the latter, however, had accepted the plan which he received, already prepared, at the hands of Lincoln's cabinet, he adhered to it uncompromisingly and with very little discretion "

"A potent force in overturning this plan was found in the result of its own workings. It had an opportunity to be tested. It was promulgated during a long recess of Congress, and its operation was entered upon free from legislative interference. Before Congress had reassembled it had been put in force in nearly all the Southern States. They had chosen legislatures, had elected Representatives and Senators in Congress, passed local laws, and set up the machinery of government under the protection of the national military forces. Congress was called upon to deal not simply with a proposition for a policy, but with a scheme, already put in execution, which was working somewhat badly. The first attempts at legislation on the part of the new governments were ill advised, to say the least, and were directed to the great question upon which the conscience of the North was thoroughly aroused,—the preservation of the freedom of the negro. The counter revolution, also, seemed to be moving somewhat too rapidly for the Northern people. Its motion may be well illustrated by a single circumstance, by no means exceptional in character. When the Session of Congress ended on the 3d of March 1865, military operations were being conducted on a broad scale, and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens was Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. When Congress came together at its next Session, the credentials of Stephens were presented as Senator elect from Georgia; and as if this were not sufficiently startling, there were urged on his behalf constitutional reasons why he should be permitted to take the oath of office. Stephens might have made a very acceptable Senator, but the men composing the Republican majority in Congress would have been something less, or more, than human, if, at that time, while the fire of battle was still hot, they could have regarded this spectacle with entire complacency."

"The decisive influence, however, which brought about the destruction of the President's plan grew out of the anti-negro laws which were passed by nearly all of the legislatures chosen in pursuance of it. A bare survey of those laws will convince one of their utter lack of policy as well as of their gross injustice, and they find no palliation in the poor excuse that has been made for them; that laws with somewhat similar features, relating to apprentices and tramps, may be found upon the Statue books of some of the Northern States. There is at the outset the material point of difference that the 'tramp' and 'apprentice' laws referred to applied impartially to all races. The few Northern statutes, too, were scattered over a great many years; they were proportionately less severe in character, and some of them followed reconstruction in point of time. But if they were similar in principle and had preceded reconstruction, still it would surely have been a strange exhibition of political wisdom on the part of the Southern legislatures to extract these scattered precedents and condense the application of them in their very first legislative acts, when the North was anxiously observing how the freedom which had been so expensively purchased should be regarded by the Southern people. Some of those laws established a condition not greatly different from the former slavery, and in some respects it differed for the worse."

I desire to say here, that Mr. Lincoln's suggestion of gradual enfranchisement of the negroes, mentioned in Mr. McCall's article as quoted above, is a good argument in favor of Mr. Stevens' suggestion or plan of delay; that is, of his plan to hold the South as conquered territory and to be governed by the conqueror until the masses of the people could be educated up to the point of ability to govern themselves as states in the Union. We can believe now, that that should have been done, unless our eyes are bedimmed by lingering sympathy for the lords of the South.

I give here a few extracts from Mr. Callender's "Thaddeus Stevens, Commoner."

"Mr. Stevens recognized that liberty had a traitor in the White House, and that the battle for freedom was only half won At the very opening of the next Session of Congress, Dec 4, 1865, he threw down the gauntlet to the President by making his motion for a Special committee on reconstruction. Many thought it unwise; but then it was 'Old Thad' that did it, and they kept their feelings to themselves. If Mr. Stevens knew how to conduct the war so as to destroy the South, he knew well how to reconstruct that country. To him, more than to any other man, we owe the safeguards which now protect the black and prevent the slaveholder from evading the results of the war. Stevens realized that there must be no reaction; that every door must be closed and locked, and that the future would depend wholly on the thoroughness with which the work was done then. He knew the mistake of our ancestors when, having beheaded Charles, in a few years they allowed the hated race to sit upon the throne. No such experiment as that was to be made. If we could not have indemnity for the past, we must have security for the future. If the rebellious States were to come back into the Union, they must come with solemn guarantees. And to this—all for others, and not for himself—he gave his dying years.

"The first thing to do was to prevent the new chief magistrate from undoing the work of the war; and to guard against this, it was necessary for Congress to reconstruct the South rather than trust that work to the tender mercies of the Border State President Mr Stevens, under a suspension of the rules, on the first day of the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, introduced his now famous reconstruction resolution. It ran as follows:—

'Resolved, That a joint committee of fifteen members shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House, and six members of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or

any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise; and until such report have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received into either House from any of the said so-called Confederate States; and all papers relative to the representation of said states shall be referred to said committee without debate.' Of that committee Mr. Stevens was chairman."

Nothing could be more iron-clad than that. None but Stevens could have drafted such a paper, none but he could have offered it to the House. But there was work to do, and the President must be checked at once. The President's love for amnesty was not fully appreciated by the Republicans. On Dec. 18, Stevens had all parts of the President's Message relating to the subject of reconstruction referred to the joint committee on reconstruction. On this occasion he made a very solid and brilliant speech on the subject, and outlined strongly his views as to the way in which the Southern states should come back into the Union; and wiser than many of his associates, he saw the NECESSITY of negro suffrage, as well as its "justice."

I give here extracts from the speech made on this occasion. It is most excellent reading for those who have a desire to understand the conditions bearing upon the great question of reconstruction.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF DEC. 18, 1865.

"Our fathers repudiated the whole doctrine of the legal superiority of families or races, and proclaimed the equality of all men before the law. Upon that they created a revolution and gave birth to a Republic. They were prevented by slavery from perfecting the superstructure whose foundation they had thus bravely laid. For the sake of the union they consented to wait, but never relinquished the idea of its final completion. The time to which they looked forward has come. It is our duty to complete their work. If this Republic is not now made to stand on their great principles, it has no honest foundation, and the Father of all men will shake it to the center. If we have not yet been sufficiently scourged for our national sin, to teach us to do justice to all God's creatures, without distinction of race or color, we must expect the still more heavy vengeance of an offended Father, still increasing his inflictions as he increased the severity of the plagues in Egypt until the tyrant repented of his reluctant consent, and attempted to enslave the people, as our Southern tyrants are attempting to do now, he filled the Red Sea with broken chariots and drowned horses, and strewed the shore with dead carcasses.

"This is not a 'white man's government' in the exclusive sense in which it is used. To say so, is political blasphemy, for it violates the fundamental principles of our gospel of liberty. This is man's government; the government of all men alike; not that all men will have equal power and sway within it. Accidental circumstances, natural and acquired endowment and ability, will vary their fortunes. But equal right to all the privileges of the government is innate in every immortal being, no matter what the shape or color of the tabernacle which it inhabits.

"If equal privileges were granted to all, I should not expect any but white men to be elected to office for long ages to come. The prejudice engendered by slavery would not soon permit merit to be preferred to color. But it would still be beneficial to the weaker races. In a country where political divisions will always exist, their power, joined with just white men, would greatly modify, if it did not entirely prevent, the injustice of majorities. Without the right of suffrage in the late slave states, (I do not speak of the free states) I believe the slaves had far better been left in bondage. I see it stated that very distinguished advocates of the right of suffrage lately declared in this city that they do not expect to obtain it by congressional legislation, but only by administrative action, because, as one gallant gentleman said, the states had not been out of the Union.

Then they will never get in. The President is far sounder than they. He sees that administrative action has nothing to do with it. If it ever is to come, it must be constitutional ammendments or congressional action in the territories, and in enabling acts.

How shameful that men of influence should mislead and miseducate the public mind! They proclaim, 'This is the white man's government', and the whole coil of copper-heads echo the same sentiment, and upstart, jealous Republicans join the cry. Is it any wonder ignorant foreigners and illiterate natives should learn this doctrine, and be led to despise and maltreat a whole race of their fellow men?

Sir, this doctrine of a white man's government is as atrocious as the infamous sentiment that damned the late Chief Justice to everlasting fame; and, I fear, to everlasting fire."

Mr. Stevens always had faith in the possibilities of the colored race. All that the race lacked in order to make manifest to the world that they possessed capabilities of no mean order, was the opportunity. Quite recent years have shown, that with partial opportunity they have made rapid advancement in education, civilization and Christianization, both by book learning and practical industrial experience. The race have improved morally also, very greatly. With the exception of a few lawless ones,—who are to be expected in any race,—who do the bad deeds that engender strife and lawlessness, they are well disposed; and the whites, with some exceptions, are kindly disposed toward them. The principal obstacle or stumbling-block, is social equality. But neither the blacks nor the whites desire this; nor do the blacks ask for it, or expect it. The schools already established have done much to create a desire among the blacks to become educated in the practical daily occupations of all industrious and well meaning people, and they are learning to do all the finer as well as the coarser labors of civilized people. A few years more of this increasing ratio of progress will doubtless astonish those of us, who may be still living, and who were living when reconstruction was first put into operation. No doubt we shall be VERY GREATLY astonished, for the leaven is at work actively, which is not slow in leavening the whole lump.

Thus we can see without much difficulty, that Reconstruction, even with its hobbles on, has done, is doing and will do a great work for the New South, and especially for the colored race.

It may well be said, that, if reconstruction has not accomplished all that was expected of it by its friends, it cannot be wondered at: for it was crippled before it was started out to work, by milk-and-water philanthropists; later, it was maimed and crippled by President Hayes' withdrawal of all the troops from the South, and by the letting loose of the Ku Klux Klans and the blood-hounds; then again it was crippled by State legislation; tissue ballots; disfranchisement for imaginary crimes; by intimidation; by driving the colored men away from the polls; and in many other ways, and last, and probably the most daring, by changing the State Constitutions, in violation of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. In fact by lawless proceedings almost without number. This is a strong statement, but it is a true one.

The condition in the South called "race war," must be settled, we believe, by an All-wise Providence, through education, civilization and Christianity. It seems to be too great a problem for human ken. It has been, is now, and will be for a long time yet, a troublesome question. Much is to be hoped for from the Hampton and Tuskegee schools and others which will follow them. Much has already been done by them for the South.

If the more impetuous, non-laboring men of the present generation of whites in the South, and others holding an unjust prejudice, or hatred, toward the blacks, simply because they are blacks, could be changed from

their unwise dislike of the Negroes, which was engendered by the Institution of Slavery, and which ought no longer to be held against this unfortunate race, since slavery no longer exists, then, time and fair-play could soon bring about harmony and tranquility. But so long as this unjust prejudice exists and is allowed to domineer over the negroes, and deny to them their rights as free people, then true liberty cannot have sway in the South, and neither the North nor the South can feel right. The South cannot feel guiltless before God, and the North will feel uncomfortable because such a condition of things exists in the South. The people of the South should, before God, try to do away with their prejudice toward this oppressed race.

If some of the Southern writers of fiction are to handle the subjects of reconstruction and "race war," without being corrected by men of greater age and calmer judgment, then God pity the people in their ignorance, or in their mistaken knowledge of history. It is absolutely and grievously wrong to misrepresent the circumstances pertaining to the South at the time of the close of the war and the early years of reconstruction. The author of "The Leopard's Spots," has recently given expression to some very wild views. He assumes that the whites—including those who had lately been in the war—were entirely peaceful, submissive and meek, during the early years of reconstruction, and that all dissensions, and all troubles of every kind, were engendered and fostered by the blacks, scalawags and carpet-baggers. Now, did not many of these same whites fight hard for four long years in trying to destroy the Government? Surely they did not fight for fun. Do they not still say that they were not conquered, but only overpowered? Do they not still say that they do not teach their children that the rebellion was wrong? Do they not have histories in their schools written by Southerners who show their bias in favor of the Rebellion, Secession and State Rights? Do they not still have organized societies to perpetuate the memories and faithful self s crifices of the war? Do they not still revere the "Stars and Bars?" Are they not proud, and disposed to dictate and to rule? Are the young men not almost untamable, or at least, unsubmissive? Let them take their share of the blame like brave men. The wrong was not all on one side. The spirit of revenge was unchained for a time.

An author who can indulge in such fancies as the following, and can give them to the reading public as truth, or as facts, is hardly to be relied upon. Speaking of things of 1867, page 100, he says:—

"The wildest passions held riot at Washington. The Congress of the United States as a deliberative body under constitutional forms of government no longer existed. The Speaker of the House shook his fist at the President and threatened openly to hang him, and he was arraigned for impeachment for daring to exercise the constitutional functions of his office!" Oh! Oh!! How can we expect the whites of the South to be what they ought to be—fair-minded, loyal, patriotic, truthful people—when they are taught in such a reckless manner as this? It is really too bad, that the country should still be disturbed by such folly. The author is no lawyer, or he would know that law had to have a part in the settlement. On page 96 he uses this language, viz.: "The voices of three men now fill the world with their bluster—Charles Sumner, a crack-brained theorist; Thaddeus Stevens, a club-footed misanthrope, and B. F. Butler, a triumvirate of physical and mental deformity. Yet they are but the cracked reeds of a great organ that peals forth the discord of a nation's blind rage. When the storm is past, and reason rules passion, they will be flung into oblivion. We must bend to the Storm. It is God's will."

This sounds well, but O, how mistaken this man is! Oblivion is too diminutive in dimensions to hold ONE of the three, let alone ALL. I am afraid that this author will never be able to see the matter in its true

light. He is terribly out of the way in his reckoning. If he do not change tack, his canoe will run him into Charybdis, or up against Scylla.

There seems to be no possible escape from the conclusion that history has been teaching for centuries, that properly restrained freedom,—such as we have in the United States of America—is the normal condition that belongs to any man, woman or child born into the world, if that man or woman or child possess a sound mind and body. History has also established the proposition that each child is naturally entitled to a fair education. The tendency, most assuredly, is toward the doctrine that every child born into the world has an inherent right to an education and to all the liberty consistent with the good of a community of intelligent and moral people.

The following item appeared in a Democratic paper of February 12th, 1903, which argues a very serious condition of affairs in the South, and suggests to every thinking person, the question: What is to be the end of it all?

"Secretary of War, Elihu Root, in his recent speech before the Union League Club of New York City, spoke of Negro Suffrage as a flat failure, and declared that his party might as well recognise it now as later. He believes that within a few years the black man will be eliminated from all public offices in the South. What is the significance of this, coming from one of President Roosevelt's cabinet?"

Every fair-minded person who reflects upon this troublous question, will, at the outset, bear in mind the fact that forty-two years ago, the South broke away from her allegiance to the Union, for the purpose of establishing an independent Government, with human slavery for the chief corner stone. And that she brought on, and maintained for four long years, a terrific war for this very purpose. No one can doubt for a single moment, that she was desperately in earnest, and that she fully intended to accomplish her purpose, or utterly fail in the prolonged life-or-death attempt. It is useless to bring forward proof of this, for it needs no proof.

We are constrained to ask: Are the fears of Thaddeus Stevens, expressed on his death bed, as related by Col. A. K. McClure in his book, "Lincoln, and Men of War Times," to be realized? Are we going back to the conditions of the period of slavery? Are we all going to forget the pangs of the war, and, on the one hand engender new strife, and on the other hand, meekly submit to everything that may come up, lest peradventure, we may lose a few dollars in business? The charge of being too aggressive rests upon the people of the South, and that of being too abjectly submissive, upon those of the North, and both charges are only too true for the good of the country and of the human race.

Our duty as conquerors at the close of the civil war, was not so much to see that mercy and forgiveness were extended to the vanquished, as to see that the interests and rights of posterity were made secure, and the principles of true liberty justly and safely established; for posterity and enlightened freedom had much greater claims upon us than the conquered "Confederates," who forfeited their Constitutional rights by their late belligerent actions. While the laws of humanity required us to be as merciful as was consistent with safety and justice, the laws of war and the law of nations required us to look beyond the interests of these alone, to those of all future generations.

A very important point, which is quite generally overlooked, both in the South and the North, and which IN JUSTICE cannot be overlooked in a candid consideration of this question, is, whether or not the Negro race is a part of the human family. This point was finally and permanently determined in the affirmative, by the Amendments to the Constitution adopted after the war. Another important point is, if we consider the question

from a humane standpoint, or in the light of justice, that this greatly wronged race is not among us from choice, but from cruel and heartless compulsion. Are we still going to compel these wronged people to submit to injustice, and rob them of promised protection? Let us think for a moment. We claim to be a just people. A great responsibility rests somewhere.

Now, let the people, North and South, who are disposed to be fair, truthful and just, give up the mistaken idea that reconstruction was a cruel yoke forced upon a martyr people by the barbarous hatred, or the savagery of a lot of heartless scoundrels in the Congress of the United States of America, simply because they had the power at the time to thus persecute and torture them. How can any reasonable, or fair-minded man believe such a charge? How could any one have believed it in the past? Reconstruction was the result of deliberate, long-continued consideration on the part of many just, able, honorable and humanity-loving men,—giants in both mind and heart. It was established, not for a day, but for all time. Not for the present generation alone, but for all posterity as well; and it has already accomplished a great work, and the possibilities which yet lie before it are unimaginable; for it works through brotherly love and the fear of God, in all the channels of home, school, church, and the forum, in all the different fields of education, civilization and Christianization. God has fostered and cherished it in the past, and we sincerely believe that he will continue to do so in the future, until, somewhere down the long vista of time, it shall have finished its great work for the various races of mankind, and for God.

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